

A
DISCOURSE
UPON
IMPROVING
THE
REVENUE
OF THE
STATE
OF
A T H E N S.

Written Originally in *Greek* by *Xenophon*.
And made *English* from the Original, with
some Historical Notes: By *W. M. Esq;*

Walter Moyle
L O N D O N,

Printed for *J. Knapton*, at the Crown in
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TO THE
AUTHOR
OF THE
ESSAY
UPON
Ways and Means.

S I R,

AT length the W A R, which
has been carry'd on for so
many Years, with such
Expence of Blood, and Treasure
to the Nation, is at an End; and

A a 2

we

we have the fairest Prospect imaginable of a lasting P E A C E, and a happy Settlement under the Government of a Prince, who after He has employ'd His Arms abroad with so much Success for the Defence of our Liberties ; will, we hope, turn all His Councils to the finishing so Glorious a Design, and be as Renown'd to future Ages, for the Peaceful Arts of Government, as for His Military Virtues : As His Courage has made us Safe, so His Wisdom , undoubtedly, will make us Rich and Happy, by the improvement of our Navigation, and the increase of our Trade : For 'tis to Trade we owe the Rise and Progress of the *English* Greatness, that has enabled us to support so tedious a War against the most formidable Power which has been known in Europe for these many Ages, and that alone can enable us to discharge the vast Debts we have con-

contracted by the W A R. Trade being of such mighty Consequence to the Interest of the Nation, will, we hope, meet with due Encouragement and Protection from our Laws, and will be settled under the ablest Management, and the wisest Regulation. These Branches of our Commerce which have been impair'd or lost by the Piratick W A R, and the fatal Interruption of our Navigation, may be retriev'd by the P E A C E, and other Trades, and particularly that with *France*, which the Negligence, or the mistaken Counsells of the last Reigns had settled upon a Foot so destructive to our Interest, may be establish'd to our Advantage in a new Treaty of Commerce. The great Trade to the *East-Indies* with some few Regulations, might be establish'd upon a Bottom more consistent with the Manufactures of *England*; but in all Appearance, this is not to be

compass'd, unless some publick spirited Man with a Masterly Genius be plac'd at the Head of our Affairs in *India*; and though we who are his Friends, are loath to loose him, 'twere to be wish'd, for the Good of the Kingdom, that the Gentleman whom common Fame, and the Voice of the World, have pointed out as the ablest Man for such a Station, would employ his excellent Judgment and Talents that way, in the Execution of so usefull a Design.

The general Interest of a Nation, ought to be the Care of particular Men, the main bent of their Studies, and the chief Pursuit of their Inquiries: Every Man ought to set his helping Hand to such a Work: And your own generous Labours upon this Subject, have set an excellent Pattern to the rest of the World. To this End I present

sent you with a Translation of this Discourse of *Xenophon* upon the Subject of *Revenue and Trade*, and I fancy it will be no unwelcome Entertainment to you, to find your own admirable Observations upon these Matters, confirm'd by the Authority of one of the greatest Men that ever Antiquity produc'd, and the only ancient Author upon this Subject, which is now extant. You will admire the Force and Solidity of his Observations, the Exactness of his Calculations, the justness, and freedom of his Thoughts, not confin'd to the narrow Notions of Parties and Factions, and the vigour of his Judgment and Eloquence at so great an Age. The general Rules for the Increase of Riches and Trade, are either directly advanc'd, or may be very naturally deduc'd from this Discourse. That admirable Maxim
That the true Wealth and Greatness of a

Nation, consists in Numbers of People, well employ'd, is every where inculcated throughout the whole Course of the Treatise. And I believe Xenophon was the first Author that ever argu'd by Political Arithmetick, or the Art of Reasoning upon things by Figures, which has been improv'd by some able Heads of our own Nation, and carry'd to the highest Perfection by your own successful Inquiries.

As for what relates to my Translation, I have rather chosen to render the Sense and Meaning of the Author, than his Words, or his Manner : The Purity, Politeness, and the unaffected Simplicity of his Stile, are Graces not to be copy'd by the Barrenness and Barbarity of our Modern Languages.

I hope the Translation is faithful, and exact ; if there are any Mistakes,
I de-

I desire the candid Reader to forgive them : I have added some Historical Notes at the End, to explain some Difficulties relating to the Law and Customs of the *Grecian* People. I am,

S I R,

Your very Affectionate Friend,

W. M.

1. Define the word "number" as far as
it applies to the present subject.
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A
DISCOURSE
UPON
Improving the Revenue
OF THE
STATE
OF
ATHENS.

I Always held it for a certain Maxim,
that Governments resembled their
Governors, and that the Prosperity,
or Declension, the Vigor or Decay
of all States, was deriv'd from the Vir-
tues and Vices, the Abilities or Weakness
of

of their Rulers: But since 'tis generally alleadg'd in vindication of the *Atbenian* Ministry, that they understand the common Principles of Justice as well as the rest of Mankind, but that they are compell'd by the (1.) Necessities of the common People to oppress their (2.) Confederate Cities with unreasonable Tributes, and Taxes: I have attempted to examin whither this Apology is well grounded, and whither they are not capable by the Native Riches, and Revenue of the State of *Athens*, to maintain the whole Body of our People, which is the justest, and most honourable Provision can be thought of: For I imagine if such a Design could be compass'd, that the Wants of the People would be more effectnally reliev'd, and the Jealousies, and Suspicions of our Neighbours would be quieted.

Upon a general view of the whole Matter, it appear'd to me that the *Atbenian* Territory is capable of affording a mighty Income, and Revenue, the truth of which Assertion may be easily evinc'd by a brief Survey of the State, and Nature of the Country.

The Fruits of the Earth, and Native Products of our Soil, are a Proof of the temperature of our Climate, and the mildness

mildness of our Seasons; for we have Plants which bear in great abundance in our Country, which will never grow in others; and our Sea, as well as Land, abounds in all Things necessary for Life, or Luxury: Add to this, that all the Blessings which the Gods have made peculiar to the different Seasons of the Year, begin earlier, and end later with us, than in any Part of the World.

Besides the vast plenty we enjoy of perishable Goods, our Soil affords us some staple and permanent Commodities, such as our noble Quarries of Marble, out of which are drawn the best Materials for the Building, and Ornament of Temples, and for the Altars and Statues of the Gods, and which both the *Greeks*, and barbarous Nations set a high Value upon.

And where the Soil is too barren to receive the common Improvements of Husbandry, it contains hidden Treasures, which will feed a much greater Number of Mouths, than any arable Lands can do: For the Divine Bounty has bestow'd upon us inexhaustible Mines of Silver, an Advantage which we enjoy above all our Neighbouring Cities by Sea, and Land, who never yet could

discover

discover one Vein of Silver Oar in all their Dominions.

*He means
North or
South.

We have Reason likewise to believe that *Athens* is seated in the Center of *Greece*, and the habitable World; for all Nations are incommoded with more intense Degrees of Heat or Cold in proportion to their * distance from us; and that we lie in the Heart of *Greece* is evident, for all Travellers, that pass by Sea or Land, from one Extremity of *Greece* to the other, must take *Athens* in their Way.

And tho' *Attica* is no Island, yet we have the same Benefit of Trading with all Winds, for we are bounded on two Sides by the Sea, and by being join'd to the Continent we have the Convenience of driving on an Inland Traffick.

Other Cities lie expos'd to the Fury of barbarous Nations, but we are so far from having so ill a Neighbourhood, that the States that border immediately upon us, lie at a remote distance from them.

To all those Advantages which conspire to the Felicity, and greatness of our State, and which we owe to the happy Situation, and the native Wealth of our Country, a mighty Improvement might be

be made by the Institution of publick Laws, in favour of Strangers that establish themselves among us; for besides the general Benefits deriv'd to all Cities from Numbers of People, our Strangers would be so far from living on the Publick, and receiving Pensions from the State as our own Citizens do, that they would maintain themselves, and be the Foundation of the Noblest Branch of our Revenue by the Payment of the (3.) Aliens Duties.

An effectual Inducement to the Settlement of Foreigners among us might be establish'd, by taking off all those publick Marks of Dishonour from them which are of no Service, nor Advantage to the State, and by excusing them from serving among our heavy arm'd Troops; for an Exemption from the Dangers of War, and from the necessity of being absent from their Families, and (4.) Trades, would be a very powerful Encouragement.

'Tis likewise the Interest of the Common-Wealth, rather to fight our Battles with our own Troops, than to keep up in our Armies, a mixture of *Lydians*, *Phrygians* and *Syrians*, and all kinds of Barbarous Nations, out of whom the greatest Number of our Aliens are compos'd.

Besides

Besides the Advantage of avoiding the Confusion such a Mixture of Troops produces, 'twould be more for our Reputation Abroad, to trust the Fortune of our State to the Courage, and Valour of our own Citizens, than in the Hands of Foreigners,

Besides all other proper encouragement to Strangers, the Priviledge of being (5.) inroll'd among our Horse, would more warmly unite them in our Interests, and prove a solid Foundation of Strength, and greatness to the State.

'Twould be likewise a strong Inducement to greater Numbers of considerable Strangers to plant among us, if we gave the (6.) wast Ground within our Walls to be built on by such of them as deserv'd, and desir'd it of the Publick.

The Institution of a new (7.) Magistracy, like the (8.) publick Guardians of our Orphans, for the protection, and Security of Strangers, with Rewards of Honours, and Dignities to those, who by their Care, and Industry, procur'd the most numerous Settlements of Foreigners among us, would gain the Affections of our Aliens, and would have a very happy Effect, in drawing a vast
con-

concourse of * Exiles, and Strangers to live under the Protection of our Government, and augment our publick Revenue.

* Exiles.
Arifiafte.
Men
whose Ci-
ties have
been de-
stroy'd.

That of all Cities, *Athens* lies the fairest for inviting an extended Commerce, is evident from the convenience of our Stations, and Harbours, where Ships can ride secure in all Weather. And whereas in other trading Cities, Merchants are forc'd to barter one Commodity for another, in regard their Coin is not current abroad, we abound not only in Manufactures, and Products of our own Growth, sufficient to answer the Demands of all Foreign Traders, but in case they refused to export our Goods, in return for their own, they may trade with us to Advantage, by receiving Silver in exchange for them, (9.) which transported to any other Market, would pass for more than they took it for at *Athens*.

'Twould be a great Encouragement to Commerce, if Prizes, and Rewards were allotted to such (10.) Judges of the Court-Merchant, as made the quickest, and justest Determination of all Causes relating to Trade, that the Merchant might not loose the Benefit of his Market by an attendance upon the Courts of Justice.

B b

'Twould

'Twould be likewise for the Honour and Advantage of the Publick, to give the first Rank (11.) and Precedence in all publick Places to Foreign Sea-men, and Merchants, and to invite to the publick Feasts of the City, such of them as by their Ships, or Commodities do service to the State; for this Distinction of Honour as well as the Consideration of their own Profit, would invite them to make quick Returns from their Voyages to so friendly a Government.

And 'tis manifest beyond all Contradiction, that our Trade and Commerce would be extended, our Exportations, and Importations increas'd, and the standing Income, and Revenue of the State improv'd, in proportion to the Number of Foreign Sea-men, and Merchants of all kinds that establish themselves among us.

To the Improvement of these Articles of our Revenue, nothing more is requir'd than a generous Lenity, and Indulgence in our publick Laws, and an universal Encouragement, and Protection to Strangers. But the Improvements that may be added by other Methods to advance our standing Income, will of Necessity require a Settlement of some Publick (12.) Fond.

And

And I have good Grounds to believe that the People will make large Contributions in favour of such a publick Undertaking, when I consider what Sums they advanc'd when we sent Succours to the *Arcadians* under the Command of *Lyfistratus*, and likewise of (13.) *Hegesilaus*.

How often we have set out Squadrons of Gallies by extraordinary Subsidies, without any certain Prospect of Advantage to the State, but this we were all sure of, that no particular Contributor would ever be repaid the whole, or any part of his Money.

But in the present Case no Man can possess a more Honourable, or Advantageous Revenue, than what he will receive in Recompence for his Contribution to this publick Fond: For a Contributor of Ten *Minae*, will receive a (14.) *Triobolon* a Day from the State, which in a Year's time, amounts to near 20 *per Cent.* which is a running Income as high as the Produce of (15.) *Nautick* Interest: And a Contributor of five *Minae*, will at the Year's End receive more than a (16.) third Part of the Capital Summ he advanc'd: As for the Body of the People, if they pay in one *Mina* a Piece, they will in a Year's

time very near (17.) double their Principal Money, and be paid in the City, without any hazzard, or Contingency, upon the Security of the publick Faith, which is the most certain, and most lasting Profit.

I am of Opinion likewise, that private Strangers, and (18.) foreign Cities, Kings, and Governours, if they had the Honour of being register'd to Posterity in our publick Monuments, and Records, as Benefactors to the State, would mutually vie in emulation who should contribute most largely to the carrying on so generous a Design.

The necessary Fonds being advanc'd, 'twould be for the Honour and Interest of the State, to build a greater Number of publick Inns, and Houses of Entertainment in our Ports, for the use of Sea-men, in the trading Parts of the City for Merchants, and in general for the Reception of all Strangers whatsoever.

And if we build Shops, Ware-houses, and Exchanges for common Retailers, the Rents of the Houses would be a great Addition to our publick Revenues, and the magnificence of the Buildings would be an Ornament to the City.

As the Publick builds Gallies for War, so it might likewise be for the Advantage of the State to make a new Experiment, and build Merchant-Ships for Trade, which might be farm'd out, like the other Branches of our Revenue, upon good Security ; for if this Design was found practicable, it would prove a considerable Article in the Increase of our publick Income.

Our Silver Mines alone, if rightly manag'd, besides all the other Branches of our Revenue, would be an inestimable Treasure to the Publick. But for the Benefit of those who are unskill'd in Inquiries of this Nature, I design to premise some general Considerations upon the true State, and Value of our Silver-Mines, that the Publick, upon a right Information, may proceed to the taking such Measures, and Councils, as may improve them to the best Advantage.

No one ever pretended from Tradition, or the earliest Accounts of Time, to determine when these Mines first began to be wrought, which is a Proof of their Antiquity, and yet as ancient as they are, the Heaps of Rubbish which have been dug out of them, and lie above Ground, bear no Proportion

with the vast Quantities which still remain below, nor does there appear any sensible Decay, or Diminution in our Mines, but as we dig on, we still discover fresh Veins of Silver-Oar in all Parts, and when we had most Labourers at work in the Mines, we found that we had still Business for more Hands than were employ'd.

Nor do I find that the Adventurers in the Mines retrench the Number of their Workmen, but purchase as many new Slaves as they can get; for their Gains are greater, or less, in Proportion to the Number of Hands they imploy. And this is the only Profession I know of where the Undertakers are never envy'd be their Stock or Profits never so extraordinary, because their Gains never interfere with those of their Fellow Traders.

Every Husbandman knows how many Yoak of Oxen and Servants are necessary to cultivate his Farm, and if he imployes more than he has occasion for, reckons himself so much a Looser; but no Dealer in the Silver Mines ever thought he had Hands enow to set to work.

For there is the Difference between this, and all other Professions, that whereas in other Callings, for Instance, Brazi-ers and Black-Smiths, when their Trades are over-stock'd, are undone, because the Price of their Commodities is lower'd of course, by the multitude of Sellers; and likewise a good Year of Corn, and a plentiful Vintage, for the same Reason does hurt to the Farmers, and forces them to quit their Employments, and set up publick Houses, or turn Merchants and Bankers.

But here the Case is quite otherwise, for the more Oar is found, and the more Silver is wrought, and made, the more Adventurers come in, and the more Hands are employ'd in our Mines.

A Master of a Family indeed when he is well provided with Furniture, and Household-Goods, buys no more, but no Man was ever so overstock'd with Silver, as not to desire a further Increase: if there are any who have more than their Occasions require, they hoard up the rest with as much Pleasure as if they actually made use of it.

And when a Nation is in a flourishing Condition, no One is at a loss how to employ his Money: The Men lay it out

in fine Armour, in Houses, and in magnificent Houses and Buildings; Women lay it out in great Equipage, costly Habits, and rich Cloaths.

And in Accidents of War when our Lands lie fallow, and uncultivated, or in a publick Dearth, and Scarcity, what Reserve have we left to apply to but Silver, to purchase Necessaries for our Subsistence, or hire Auxiliaries for our Defence?

If 'tis objected that Gold is as useful as Silver, I will not dispute it, but this I am sure of, that plenty of Gold always lower'd its Value, and advanc'd the Price of Silver.

I have insisted the longer upon these general Reflections to encourage Adventurers of all kinds, to employ as many Hands as possible in so advantageous a Trade, from these plain Considerations, that the Mines can never be (19.) exhausted, nor can Silver ever lose its Value.

That the Publick has known this long before, is evident from our Laws, which allow Foreigners to work our Mines upon the (20.) same Terms and Conditions our own Citizens enjoy.

But to draw this Discourse more immediately to the Subject of my present Consideration, which is the Maintenance
of

of our Citizens, I will begin to propose those Ways, and Means, by which the Silver-Mines may be improv'd to the highest Benefit, and Advantage to the Publick. Nor do I set up for the Vanity of being admir'd for an Author of new Discoveries: For that Part of my following Discourse which relates to the Examples of the present Age, lies obvious to all the World; as for what is past 'tis Matter of Fact, and every Man might inform himself that would be at the Pains of inquiring.

'Tis very strange, that after so many Precedents of private Citizens of *Athens*, who have made their Fortunes by the Mines, the Publick should never think of following their Example: For we who have made Inquiry into this Matter have heard, that *Nicias*, the Son of *Niceratus*, had a thousand Slaves employ'd in the Mines, whom he let out to *Sofias* the *Thracian*, upon Condition to receive an *Obolus* a Day, clear of all Charges, for every Head, and that the same Complement of Workmen should be always kept on Foot.

In like manner *Hipponicus* had 600 Slaves let out at the same Rate, which yielded him a Revenue of a *Mina* a Day, and *Philemonides* 300, which brought

brought him in half a *Mina* a Day, and many others made the same Advantage, in proportion to the Number of Slaves they possess'd. But what need we to appeal to Precedents of an elder Date, when at this Day we have so many Instances of the same Nature before our Eyes?

In the Proposals which I offer, there is only One thing new, namely, That as private Men have a constant Revenue coming in from the Slaves whom they let out to work in the Mines, so the Publick in imitation of their Example, should purchase as many Slaves to be imploy'd in the same manner, as will treble the Number of their own Citizens.

Let any reasonable Man take this whole Proposal to pieces, and examin every distinct Head apart, and then judge whether the Design is feasible or not. 'Tis plain the State can bear the Charge of the Price of the Slaves better than private Men. And nothing can be easier than for the Senate to make Proclamation for all that have Slaves to sell, to bring them in, and then buy them up for the publick Use.

And

And when they are bought, what should hinder any one from hiring them of the State upon the same Terms they hire them from private Men? For we see that our Revenues are farm'd by particular Men, and the repair, and the building of our publick Structures and Temples (21.) are let out to private Undertakers.

And that the Publick may be no loser by the Defertion of Slaves, or other Accidents, the Adventurers in the Mines like the Farmers of our Revenue, should be oblig'd to give good Security to save the State harmless: Though at the same time the Common-Wealth may be much more easily cheated by the Farmers of their Revenue, than by the Hirers of their Slaves.

For how is it possible to discover the Frauds that are committed in the Management of the Publick Money? there being no visible Distinction between publick and private Money; the same Materials, and Stamp being common to both. But when our Slaves are burnt with the publick Mark of the State, with severe Penalties to be inflicted upon all that buy, or sell them; what Danger is there of their being stole? Thus
much

much of my Proposal as relates to the buying and preserving our Slaves, appears practicable beyond all Contradiction.

If any one questions whether after we have purchas'd a great Number of Workmen, there will be Adventurers enow to hire them of the Publick, let him consider, that the Undertakers who have a good Stock of Slaves will hire more of the State; for the Mines are so great, that they will require a vast Number of Hands to work them; and many of the Workmen that are grown old, and unserviceable, and many others, *Athenians*, and Strangers whose Bodies are not vigorous enough for Labour, yet would be willing to get their Living by easier Callings, would turn Adventurers in the Mines, and hire our Slaves; so that there is little danger of wanting Employment for our Workmen.

Twelve hundred Slaves, when bought, will probably in five or six Year's time, produce a Revenue sufficient to purchase as many more as will make the Number 6000. This Number at the rate of an *Obolus* a Day a Head, clear of all Charges, will afford a Yearly Revenue of (22) sixty Talents.

And

And if but twenty of these Talents are laid out in the Purchase of more Slaves, the City may employ the over-plus as they think convenient; and when the Number of Slaves is increas'd to 10000. it will produce a standing Revenue to the Publick, of a hundred Talents a Year.

To demonstrate that the Mines would take up a greater Proportion of Slaves to work 'em, I appeal to the Authority of all these living Witnesses who remember, what Numbers of Workmen were employ'd in them before the taking of (23) *Decelea* by the *Lacedemonians*. And our Silver Mines that have been wrought for so many Ages, with such Numbers of Hands, and continue still so far from being drein'd, or exhausted, that we can discover no visible difference in their present State from the Accounts our Ancestors have deliver'd down to us, are undeniable Proofs of my Assertion.

And their present Condition is a good Argument that there never can be more Hands at work in the Mines than there is Employment for: For we dig on still without finding any Bottom or End of our Mines, or decay of the Silver-Oar.

And

And at this Day we may open new Mines as well as in former Ages, and no one can determin whether the new Mines may not prove more Rich than the old Ones.

If any one demands why our Miners are not so forward in pursuit of new Discoveries, as formerly, I answer, 'tis not long since that the Mines have begun to be wrought afresh, and the present Adventurers are not rich enough to run the Risque of such an Undertaking.

For if they discover a rich Mine their Fortunes are made, but if they fail, they lose all the Charges they have been at; and this Consideration chiefly has discourag'd the Adventurers from trying so dangerous an Experiment.

But in Order to remedy this Difficulty, I have some (24) Proposals to offer to the Publick. There are Ten Tribes at *Athens*, and to each of these I would have the Government assign an equal Proportion of their publick Slaves, to be imploy'd in search of new Mines, and the gains to be equally divided in common among all the Sharers in the Ten Tribes: For if the Mines were once settled upon this Establishment, and the whole Undertaking carry'd on by a National

tional Stock, the Adventurers would run little Hazard; and if but one of the Ten Tribes succeeded in the Attempt, the whole Community would be Gainers; and if two, three, four, or half the Tribes had the same good Fortune, the Profits would be proportionably greater; for 'tis a wild Supposition, and against the Experience of all Ages, to imagin that not One in Ten should succeed in such an Undertaking.

Companies of private Adventurers may carry on the same Trade in a Joint-Stock, nor is there any danger that they and the National Company will interfere one with another, but as Confederates are strengthen'd by their mutual Assistance to each other, so the more Adventurers of all kinds are imploy'd in the Mines, so much larger will the Gains, and Advantages be to all.

Thus have I briefly propos'd some Considerations to the Publick, for establishing the Management of the National Revenue upon such an Institution as shall make effectual Provision for the whole Body of our People.

Nor let any Man be discourag'd from the Considerations of the vast Expence, which will be necessary for the perfecting so great a Work: For there is no Necessity

sity that either the whole Design must be finish'd at once, or the Publick will receive no Advantage from it; Quite contrary, every Step we advance in our Way, the State will gain Ground; and by the gradual Progress we make in our publick Buildings in the rigging out our Trading-Vessels, or in the Purchase of our Slaves, the Common-Wealth will be an immediate Gainer.

And 'tis certainly more for the Advantage of the Publick to parcel out the Design, and finish it by degrees: For when many Houses are building at once, they cost more, and are worse built: In like manner, if we purchase our Complement of Slaves all at once, we must pay more for them, and buy worse into the Bargain.

But if we proceed gradually according to to our Abilities, we shall still have the same Advantage of continuing any right Methods we pitch'd upon in the Beginning, and shall be at liberty to correct the Oversights, and Mistakes we made at our first setting out. And if we perfect some Parts of our Undertaking, and delay the Execution of the rest, the Revenue arising from part of our Design, which is finish'd, will be sufficient to answer the whole Expence of the

the Remainder. But if we resolve to execute the whole Project at once, the whole Charge of the Enterprize must be rais'd at once likewise.

And then the great Difficulty which will be objected to this whole Scheme is, that in case the Publick purchase so great a Number of Slaves, the Mines may happen to be overstock'd; but there can be no Grounds for such an Apprehension, if we take care every Year to imploy no more than there is actually Occasion for.

Thus I think the easiest Methods of finishing this Design are the best, and most effectual. It may be objected that the immense Charges of this War have exhausted our Treasure in such a manner, that 'twill be impossible for the Publick to raise any new Subsidies, much less to advance the Necessary Fonds for such an Undertaking. But this Difficulty may be easily remov'd, for let the State employ no more Money in the Administration of the Government the next Year after we have a Peace, than the annual Income of the Publick produc'd during the War, and whatever additional Improvements of our Revenue are made by the Peace, from the Incouragement of Strangers, and Merchants, from

the Increase of our Exportations, and Importations, occasion'd by the resort of more People, and from a greater Vent of Commodities in our Ports and Markets, let all that be appropriated to this particular Service, in order to advance the National Revenue.

If any One imagins that a War will ruine our Works, let him but consider that the Execution of this Design, will enable us to meet a Foreign Invasion, with so many Advantages on our side, that a War in such a Juncture will be less formidable to us, than to our Enemies themselves.

For what Advantage can better enable us to carry on a vigorous and successful War, than Numbers of Men? and by such an Addition to the Stock of our People, as might be made by due care and encouragement; what Levies might be rais'd, what mighty Fleets and Armies set out to disappoint all the Designs of our Enemies?

And I have Reason to believe that 'tis possible to work our Mines in the conjuncture of a foreign War, for they are cover'd on the South-Sea, by a strong Citadel in *Anaphlystus*, and on the North-Sea, by another in *Thorius*, and these
two

two Fortresses lie at a distance of but 60 Furlongs from one another.

And if a third Fort was built upon the top of a high Mountain, in the middle of the two former, the three Works would meet together, and our Silver Mines would be inclosed in a Circle, and guarded on all sides, and the Workmen at the first Notice of an Invasion might retire to a Place of Security.

But if we are invaded with more Numerous Armies, our Enemies may make themselves Masters of our Corn, Wine, and Cattle that lie without the Works; but if they possess themselves of our Silver Mines, what can they find to carry off more than a heap of Stones and Rubbish.

But how is it possible for our Enemies to make an Inroad upon our Mines? For the City *Megara*, which lies nearest, is above 500 Furlongs from them; and *Thebes*, which is nearer than any but *Megara*, is more than 600 Furlongs distant from them.

If they advance to our Mines in a small Body from this side, they must leave *Athens* behind them, and run the hazard of being cut off by our Horse, and flying Parties; for 'tis a wild Noti-

on to imagine that they will invade us with their whole Force, and unguard their own Country, and leave it expos'd to our Inroads; for in such a Case, *Athens* would be nearer to their Cities than their own Army.

But suppose they march'd up to our Mines with a Numerous Army, how could they Subsist for want of Provisions? If they forrag'd in small Parties, they would be in danger of having their Conveys intercepted; if they forrag'd with their whole Armies, they must act upon the defensive, and we should be the Aggressors.

The Revenue arising from our Slaves would not only make a considerable Article in the Charge of maintaining our Citizens, but by the vast Concourse of People from all Parts, the Customs of the Fairs, and Markets at the Mines, and the Rent of our Publick Buildings, and Melting-houses, and many other Heads would produce a mighty Income to the State.

The State upon such an Establishment would be peopled with a prodigious Number of Inhabitants, and the value of Lands at the Mines would be as high as those that lie near *Athens*.

A pursuit

A pursuit of such Measures and Councils would not only enrich the City, but introduce a habit of Obedience in the People; reform their Discipline, and revive the Courage of the Nation.

For if upon this Improvement of our Revenue, a larger Allowance was establish'd for the maintenance of our Youth, they would be train'd up to the Art of War in our (25.) Publick Academies with more exactness, and performe their Military Exercises with a more regular Discipline, than the Racers in the (26) Torch-Course are taught to observe. And our Troops in Garrison, and the standing Guards of our Coasts, would do their Duty in their several Posts with more cheerfulness, if any effectual Provision was settled for their subsistence.

If it be made appear that the Revenue of *Athens* can never be improv'd, or advanc'd to the full height without a Peace, it may deserve the publick Inquiry, whether the Establishment of a (27) Council of Peace would not be for the Benefit and Advantage of the State.

For the Institution of such a Magistracy, would invite more numerous Settlements of Foreigners to make *Athens* the Place of their Abode.

For 'tis an absur'd Supposition to imagin, that Peace will weaken our Strength, and ruine our Authority, and Reputation abroad; for of all Governments, those are happiest who have continued longest without War, and of all Common-Wealths, *Athens* lies fairest for flourishing, and increasing by the Arts of Peace.

For *Athens* in time of Peace, is the great Theatre to which all Mankind have Occasion to resort: To begin with Merchants and Commanders of Ships, Where can the Traders in Wine, Oyl, Corn, or Cattle have a quicker Vent, or a better Market for their Commodities than at *Athens*? Where can Mony'd Men make a better Improvement of their Wealth; and, where is there greater Encouragement for those who live by Arts of Invention and Ingenuity?

Where is there better Employment for Artificers, and Mechanick Trades? where can the Sophists, Philosophers, Poets, and the Lovers of the Liberal Arts, resort to a more renown'd School of Learning, and Humanity? where is there a nobler Scene to gratifie the Curiosity of all Strangers that are delighted with Divine Rights, and Institutions,
and

and the celebrations of Religious Games, and Festivals ? And where can Merchants of all kinds whatsoever, find a better Market to make quick Returns of their Money, than *Athens*.

If my Opposers acknowledge all this to be true, but still imagine that we can never recover the Domipion of *Greece* but by a War, I desire them to look back to the *Perſian* Invaſion, and examine, whether it was by Force of Arms, or our good Offices to the *Greeks*, that we were plac'd at the Head of the (28.) Naval Confederacy, and the Common Treasury of *Greece*.

And when by a Tyrannical Exerciſe of our Power we loſt our Jurisdiction, by an Alteration of our Measures, and a milder Adminiſtration, (29.) we were reſtor'd to our ancient Authority by the joint Conſent of all the Iſlands.

Did not the *Thebans* in Acknowledgement of our generous Aſſiſtance to their State, place us at the Head of the Common (30.) Alliance ? and our Rivals, the *Lacedemonians*, for the ſame Conſideration, quitted their old Pretenſions, and ſuffer'd us to give Laws to the (31.) laſt Treaty, and diſpoſe of the Supream Command of *Greece* at our own Diſcretion.

And at this Juncture in the general Confusion of *Greece*, we have the most favourable Opportunity of recovering our ancient Dominion without Difficulty, Hazard, or Expence, that ever any Nation had : For if we set up to be the Common Mediators of *Greece*, and interpos'd our Authority to unite all the divided Interests abroad, and reconcile all the Factions at home ; and if by solemn Embassies to all the Neighbouring States, we declar'd for the Liberty of (32.) *Delphi*, all *Greece* would support us at the Head of so Glorious a Cause, and unite in a general Confederacy against the common Enemies (33.) who endeavour'd to make themselves Masters of *Delphi*, when the *Phocians* were reduc'd to Extremity.

And if we afterwards warmly interest our selves to establish a general Peace by Sea, and Land ; all *Greece*, next to the Security of their own Governments, would desire the Preservation of *Athens*.

If any Man can have so wild a Notion, as to imagine, that War will contribute more to the Increase of the Riches of the State than Peace, I know no better way to decide the Controversie, than by appealing to the Experience of former Ages,

Ages, and producing Precedents to the contrary out of our own Story.

For upon inquiry he may find that the vast Treasure we had amass'd in Peace, was all consum'd in our former Wars ; and to quote Instances of a fresher Date, in the present War all the Branches of our Income have been deficient, and what Money came in upon the Publick Fonds, has been all apply'd to the pressing Occasions of the State ; but since the Seas have been open, and our Trade free, every Article of our Income is advanc'd, and the Government is at liberty to employ it as they think convenient.

Not that I would advise the Commonwealth to sit down tamely by their Injuries in case of a Foreign Invasion ; but this I am sure of, that we should be better inabled to revenge the Affront, if we are not the Aggressors, for our Enemies will never be able to form a Confederacy to support them in an unjust War.

Upon the whole Matter, if nothing in this Proposal appears impossible, or difficult, and if a pursuit of these Councils, and Resolutions, will gain the Affections of *Greece*, and establish our Security at Home, and increase our Reputation

putation abroad: if the common People will abound in all things necessary for Life, and the Rich be eas'd of their Taxes to the Wars: If in this Universal Plenty our Temples will be rebuilt, and our Religious Festivals, and Solemnities celebrated with more Magnificence: If our Walls, Docks, and Arsenals will be repair'd, and our Priests, Senate, Magistrates, and Cavalry, restor'd to their ancient Rights and Priviledges, is it not fit that all Engins should be set at work to promote so glorious an Undertaking, that in our Days we may see our Country establish'd upon a solid Foundation of Security and Happiness?

And if the Publick, upon due consideration, thinks fit to execute these Orders and Institutions, I would advise them to send Embassadors to *Delphi*, and *Dodona* to consult the Gods, whether such a Reformation of our Government would not turn to the Advantage of the present Age, and the Benefit of all Posterity.

And if these Resolutions are ratify'd by the Divine Approbation, to consult the Oracle once more, to the protection of what Gods we should recommend the Success of this Enterprize, and then to propitiate those Gods we are directed

rected to apply to, in order to engage their Assistance. And after this solemn Invocation to enter boldly upon the Execution of this Design: For 'tis but reason that all Undertakings should be attended with more favourable Success, that are begun, and carry'd on, under the immediate Care and Protection of the Divine Providence.

The End.

the Province of the State of Athens.

refused to apply to, in order to make
their assistance. And over this
involvement to enter fully upon the
creation of this Design: for its
for that all Undertakings should be
traded with more than usual
that we began and ended in
the human mind, and the
the Divine Providence.

NOTES

UPON THE

TRANSLATION.

*A Table of the Attick Coins reduc'd
to the Value of English Money.*

THE *Obolus* was equal to 1 d. 1 q.
The *Triobolus* was three *Oboli*,
and made 3 d. 3 d.

The *Drachma* was six *Oboli*, and made 7 d. 2 q.

The *Mina* was an hundred *Drachma's*,
and made 3 l. 2 s. 6 d.

The common *Attick Talent* consisted
of sixty *Minae*, which amounts in our
Money to 187 l. 10 s.

These are the common *Attick Coins*,
which are most frequently mention'd by
their Writers, and which I have reduc'd
to our *English Money*, to make way for
the easier understanding of this Discourse.

Note

Note (1.)

Διὰ τὴν τῷ πλῑθους περίαν. The State of Athens was at a great Charge in maintaining the Common People. They were allow'd three *Oboli* a Man for every Cause they judg'd; and this Pension was call'd the *Τεταύρολον δικαστικον*. *Lucian. in his accusato.* And some days many Thousands receiv'd this Pension.

The *Θεώριον* was an Allowance of two *Oboli* a-piece, to pay for the Sight of publick Shows. *Liba. in argu. Olyn. primæ.*

The *Ἑκκλησιαστικον* was an *Obolus* a-piece, paid them every time they assembl'd. *Julii. Poll. l. 6. c. 9.* And this Pension was afterwards increas'd to three *Oboli*. Besides, all maim'd and disabl'd Citizens had a Pension of two *Oboli* a day. *Harpocra. in verba αἰδύνατοι.*

Note (2.)

Xenophon says only *ὡς ἐπὶ πῶς πῶς*, but the Word *συμμεχέας* is plainly understood, as appears from the Sequel of this Discourse, and *Xenophon's* Treatise of the Government of Athens. This Tax upon the Confederates was at first but 460 Talents, but it was afterwards advanc'd to 1300. *Plutar. in Vita Aristidis.* This Tribute was so burdensome, that it provok'd the Confederates to frequent Revolts.

Note

Note (3.)

Μετοίκων, Aliens Duties. This was an annual Tribute paid by the Aliens, of twelve *Drachma's* for every Man, and six for every Woman. *Harpocra. in verbo μετοίκων*. The number of the Aliens amounted generally to 10000. Originally at Athens there was no distinction between Strangers and Natives, for all Foreigners were naturaliz'd promiscuously. *Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2*. Thus all the *Plataeans* were naturaliz'd at once. *Thucyd. l. 3. c. 55*. And this Custom was the Foundation of their future Greatness. But as the City grew more populous, they grew more sparing of this Favour. *Scholi. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2*. and this Privilege was given to such only as had deserv'd it by some extraordinary Service to the State. *Demost. Oratio contra Neogram*.

Note (4.)

Trades. *Τέχναι* not *τιμωαι*. The *Basil* Edition reads it right; for most part of the Mechanick and Handicraft Trades were carry'd on by the Aliens at Athens. *Xenoph. de polit. Athen*.

Note (5.)

Τὸ ἰσχυρὸν. *Xenophon* explains this Passage in his *Hipparchicus*, where he advises the State to inroll Aliens among their

A Discourse upon improving

their Horse. Besides the Dignity of the Horse-Service, there was a considerable Pay in Peace and War allow'd them. *Ulpianus in Timocrateam. Xenoph. in Hippar.*

Note (6.)

Waste Ground. Vide Thucyd. l. 2. c. 17.

Note (7.)

Μετοικοφύλακας. Every Alien by the Laws of *Athens*, was oblig'd to choose a private Patron among the Citizens. *Harpocration in verbo μετοικίας*, but here *Xenophon* proposes publick Patrons for the whole Body of the Aliens.

Note (8.)

Ὀρφατοφύλακας. Vide Demosthen. contra Macartatum.

Note (9.)

Γανπαχῦ πλεῖον τῷ ὀρχαῖς Λαμβάνουσιν. The meaning of *Xenophon* is that the *Athenian* Money was more valuable abroad than the Coin of any other Nation, because it was finer, and consequently was worth more than its own weight of any other Silver that had more Alloy in it. For 'tis impossible that an Ounce of *Athenian* Silver should be worth more in Specie than an Ounce of other Silver of the same fineness. *Sensus moresque repugnant, atque ipsa utilitas.*

Note

Note (10.)

Τὸ ἱμπερίον δεξιά. This Court of Judicature was probably the same with the *ναυλοδία*, mention'd by *Suidas* and *Hesychius*, in verbo *ναυλοδία*.

Note (11.)

Πρεσβείαν τιμᾶν. This was a right of Precedence in the Theatres, Senate, Assemblies of the People, and in all publick places whatsoever. *Schol. Aristoph. in Equ.* This Custom was practis'd by the *Spartans*, who gave this Privilege to the *Deceleans*. *Herodotus lib. 9. c. 72.*

Note (12.)

Ἀφορμή, a Fond. *Harpoc. Hesychius*, in verbo *ἀφορμή*.

Note (13.)

Hegesilaus commanded the *Athenian* Troops sent to the Assistance of the *Mantineans* at the Battle of *Mantineæ*; which is a Proof that this Discourse was writ after that Battle. *Diog. Laer. in Xenoph. Diodorus Siculus* by Mistake calls him *Hegelochus*.

Note (14.)

Τεωλόλον. *Salmasius de modo usurarum* thinks that this was the *τεωλόλον* ~~δραγμα~~ which the People receiv'd for judging Causes. But *Xenophon's* Com-

D d putation

putation plainly confutes this Opinion: He says that a Contributor of 10 *Minæ*, or 1000 *Drachmæ's*, at the rate of a *Triobolus* or half a *Drachma* a Day, will in a Years time receive almost the fifth part of the principal Money he advanced. Which is very true, for reckoning (as *Xenophon* always does in this Discourse) 360 Days to the Year, the Payment of a *Triobolus* a Day will amount to 180 *Drachmæ*, which is near the fifth part of 1000 *Drachmæ*. But the payment of the *τριόβολον ἀκρίβειαν* cou'd never amount to this Summ, because the Holydays, by the Confession of *Salmasius*, took up two Months in the Year, and on these Days the People never heard Causes, so that 30 *Drachmæ's* must be deducted from 180, which reduces the Summ to 150, which is little more than the seventh part of 1000. So that *Salmasius* is mistaken, or *Xenophon* was a very loose Calculator. The true meaning of the Passage I take to be this: *Xenophon* in the following part of this Discourse, in order to make Provision for the Citizens, makes a Proposal to the State, to buy as many Slaves as wou'd treble the Number of their own Citizens, which
 Slaves

Slaves were to be let out at the rate of an *Obolus* a Day to the Adventurers in the Mines, which brought in a Revenue of three *Oboli* a Day to every Citizen, because the Slaves were thrice as many as the Citizens among whom this Revenue was to be divided. And this I take to be the *Triobulus* mentioned by *Xenophon*, which every Citizen was to receive in recompence for his Contribution.

Note (15.)

Nautick-Interest was the highest Interest, and is here oppos'd to Land-Interest, which was considerably less. For in the former the Creditor run a greater Hazard; for if the Merchant who borrow'd the Money, and imploy'd it in Trade, lost his Ship, the Creditor lost his Money, and had no right to demand it of the Merchant; a Trade somewhat like our *Bottumry*. This Interest generally amounted to 20 *per Cent.* or the fifth part of the Principal *per annum*. 'Tis true, it often vary'd, and was higher or lower according to the Plenty and Scarcity of Money, or the Danger and Distance of the Voyage. But the general *Medium* may be safely establish'd at 20 *per Cent.* There are several Contracts of Money lent upon

Nautick-Interest, extant in the Orations of *Demosth. contra Lacrit. pro Phormi. contra Pant. contra Phormi.*

Note (16.)

Γλῶσσον ἢ ὀπίστελλον. More than a third part of the principal Money: For a *Triololus* a Day in a Year makes 180 *Drachmæ*, which is above the third part of five *Minae* or 500 *Drachmæ*. The τὸ αἰ. ὀπίστελλον was the highest *Nautick-Interest*, and came to above 33 *per Cent*. There is an Instance which comes very near this Computation, in the Oration of *Demosthenes contra Phormi.*

Note (17.)

Almost double their Principal. For 180 *Drachmæ* is almost double one *Mina*, or 100 *Drachmæ*.

Note (18.)

Foreign Cities, &c. Foreign States often contributed to the Publick Buildings of the Greeks. The *Rhodians* when their *Colossus* was overturn'd by an Earthquake, receiv'd Contributions from all the neighbouring States in order to restore it, *Polybius, lib. 5.* And there are many Inscriptions of such publick Benefactors extant in *Gruterus*, and elsewhere.

Note

Note (19.)

That the Mines can never be exhausted.
 'Tis plain from *Pausanias* that these Mines were not work'd in his Time. *Paus. Attic.* But this does not destroy the Assertion of *Xenophon*, for the plundering the Temple of *Delphi* brought out two Millions of our Money, which lay dead before ; and the Conquest of *Persia* by the *Macedonians* brought such a vast quantity of Silver into *Greece*, and consequently made Labour so dear, that the Silver found in the Mines would in all probability scarce counter-vail the expences of the working them. Or it might proceed from the Subjection of *Athens* to a Foreign Power, or from other Accidents, and not from any decay of the Mines.

Note (20.)

Ἐπὶ ἰσότητας. Upon the same Terms, &c. The State was the Proprietor of the Silver-Mines, and Strangers or *Athenians* that work'd in them, were oblig'd to pay the same Tribute of the 24th Part of the Silver found, to the Publick. *Suidas* in ἀγέζῃς μετάλλῃς διζῇ.

Note (21.)

Ἡ ἐπισκευὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. The repair of our Temple, &c. *Μισθῶται ἱερῶν.* 'Twas the Custom of the Greeks to let out the building and repair of

their Temples to private Undertakers. *Athenæus* l. 6. *Herod.* l. 5. c. 62. where he makes use of the same Word, *ἐν τῷ Μισθώματι*; That is, *They hir'd the building of the Temple upon such Terms.* And the *Latines* us'd the Word *conducunt* in the same Sense. *Conducunt foricas*, i. e. *Repurgandas.* *Juvenal.* Sat. 3.

Note (22.)

Revenue of 60 Talents. This Computation proves that *Xenophon* reckon'd but 360 Days to the Year: For 6000 *Oboli*, multiply'd by 360, make 2160'000 *Oboli*; which Sum. divided by 600 (for 600 *Oboli* make a *Mina*) makes 3'600 *Minæ*, which divided by 60 (for 60 *Minæ* make a *Talent*) reduces the whole Sum to 60 *Talents*. And the following Computation of 100 *Talents* a Year, produc'd by 10000 *Oboli* a Day, answers exactly to the former.

Note (23.)

The taking of Decelea, &c. *Decelea* was taken and fortify'd by the *Lacedæmonians* in the 19th Year of the *Peloponnesian* War, and lying in the Heart of *Attica*, it gave opportunity to 20000 *Athenian* Slaves to desert to the Enemy. *Thucyd.* l. 7. c. 27.

Note

Note (24.)

Xenophon in his former Proposal would have 10000 Slaves let out at a certain Rate to the Adventurers in the Mines, but in this second Proposal he advises the State it self to adventure in search of Discoveries of new Mines, which Work was to be carry'd on by another set of Slaves, and not by the former 10000.

Note (25.)

There were at *Athens*, and in other Parts of *Greece*, Military Academies or Gymnasia, where the young Men exercis'd. *Theophrastus de Blanditiâ Aristoph. & Schol. in Equil. Xenoph. in 1, 2, 3, & 6th lib. de rebus Græc.*

Note (26.)

Ἐν τῇ λαμπρίᾳ. Torch-course. There was a Festival at *Athens*, on which a certain Number of Men ran with lighted Torches in their Hands. *Paus. Attic.* To this Ceremony *Lucretius* makes that fine Allusion in his 2d. Book,

Et quasi Cursores vitæ lampada tradunt.

Note (27.)

Ἐπιτροπὴ εἰρήνης. Council of Peace. This new Magistracy which *Xenophon* proposes to be instituted for the Preservation

of the Publick Peace, was to be, in all probability, like the *isprodirga* or *Fæciales* of the *Romans*, who were instituted by *Numa* for the same considerations. *Dion. Haicarn.* lib. 2.

Note (28.)

Ἑλλανοταμίαις. After the *Persian* Invasion, the *Athenians* had the command of the Confederate Fleet, and were made Treasurers of the Money contributed by the *Greeks* to the carrying on the War against *Persia*. *Thucydides*, lib. 1.

Note (29.)

The *Athenians* recover'd the Command of the *Greek* Islands, (which they lost in the *Peloponnesian* War,) in the 4th Year of the 100th *Olymp.* *Diod. Sicul.* lib. 15.

Note (30.)

This Alliance between the *Thebans* and *Athenians*, was made in the second Year of the 96th *Olympiad*. *Diod. Siculus.* lib. 14. *Xenophon* lib. 3. *de rebus Græc.*

Note (31.)

This League between the *Spartans* and *Athenians*, was made in the 4th Year of the 102d *Olympiad*, not long after the Battle of *Leuctra*. *Diod. Sic.* l. 15. *Xenop.* l. 7. *de rebus Græc.*

Note

Note (32.)

For the Liberty of Delphi. The Greeks made it a part of their Religion, to preserve the Liberty of *Delphi*. Thus the *Lacedæmonians* enter'd into a War to restore the Oracle to the *Delphians*. *Thucyd.* lib. 1. c. 112. And the first Article of their Leagues, often began with a mutual Engagement on both Parts, to protect the Liberty of *Delphi*. *Thucyd.* l. 4. c. 118. l. 5. c. 18. Besides their Religion, they had Reasons of State for this proceeding: For if *Delphi* were subject to a foreign Power, the Priestesses might be forc'd to utter whatever Oracles the Conqueror pleas'd to impose: Nor could the Resolutions and Sentences of the *Amphictyons*, who often sat at *Delphi*, be free and unbiass'd as long as *Delphi* was under a Foreign Dominion.

Note (33.)

If we knew who these Enemies were that design'd to seize upon *Delphi*, it would be no difficult Matter to determine exactly the Time when this Discourse was written. *Jason*, the Tyrant of *Theffaly*, had form'd a Design upon *Delphi*, but his Death prevented the execution of it. *Diod. Sic. Xenop. Hist. Græc. Ælian. Frag.* But this Passage cannot

not be understood to mean this attempt, for *Iason* was assassinated in the third Year of the 102 *Olymp.* Some Years before the Battle of *Maurinea*, and this Discourse, as I have prov'd in a former Note, was written after that Battle. I think that this Passage (taking the Word *ἐκλαστικόν* in a neutral Sense as I have rendred it, and for which there are a thousand Authorities) ought to be understood of a Design the *Thebans* had form'd upon *Delphi*. The Story in short is this: The *Thebans* being engag'd in a War with the *Phocians*, upon some Dispute about a Frontier, form'd a Design upon the Temple of *Delphi*. *Demost. de Falsa Legatione*, *Ulpianus*. And the *Phocians* at the same time being condemn'd by the *Amphictyons* to pay a great Fine for plowing up some Consecrated Land, the *Greeks* prepar'd to execute the Sentence by force of Arms. The *Phocians* being unable to resist such an approaching Storm, were reduc'd to great Extremities, and compell'd for their own Preservation, to seize upon the Treasures of *Delphi*: This gave beginning to the Holy War, and all *Greece* engag'd in the Quarrel. The *Athenians* assisted the *Phocians*, but *Xenophon* advises them to break off that Alliance, and declare for the Liberty

erty of *Delphi*, and under that Plausible Pretence, to unite all *Greece*, against the *Thebans* who were equally Criminal with the *Phocians*, (as *Demosthenes* observes) for having form'd the first Design upon the Temple. This Counsel he recommends to the *Athenians* as the best Method to recover the Dominion of *Greece*. I know it will be objected that *Laertius* places the Death of *Xenophon* in the first Year of the 105th Olympiad, and the *Phocian* War breaking out some Years after, it will be impossible to explain this Passage in my Sence. To this I answer, that this Account of *Laertius* is certainly false : For *Xenophon*, in his *Greek History*, mentions the Death of *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheræ*, which happen'd, as *Diodorus* observes, in the 4th Year of the 105th Olymp. so that *Xenophon* must be a Prophet, or be alive at that time, three Years after his suppos'd Death. *Xenophon* likewise in the conclusion of his *Greek History* affirms, that after the Battle of *Mantinea*, *Greece* was in a greater Disorder and Confusion than ever. But we read of no considerable Commotion in *Greece* till the breaking out of the Holy War, in the 1st Year of the 106th Olymp. which engag'd all *Greece* in an intestine Division.

To confirm this Account of *Laertius*, it may be urg'd, that *Xenophon* living 90 Years, according to *Lucian* in *Macrob.* and being present at the Battle of *Delium*, which was fought in the first Year of the 89th *Olympiad*, about 67 Years before the *Holy War*, it is highly improbable that he was living at the time of the *Holy War*. 'Tis true, *Laertius* says that *Socrates* sav'd *Xenophon's* Life at that Battle: But *Athenæus* l. 5. says that *Socrates* was not at the Battle; and 'tis probable that the other part of the Story of *Xenophon's* being there, may be equally fabulous, especially if what *Athenæus* (according to *Casaubon's* Correction) says be true, that *Xenophon* was but a Boy at the Banquet of *Callias*, which was three Years afterwards. Besides he is call'd a *Young Man* in his Expedition into *Asia*; but at this rate he must have been 50 Years old at that time, an Age at which a Man cannot properly be call'd young.

But granting that he was present at the Battle of *Delium*, if we allow him to be 18 Years old, the Age, if I mistake not, that the *Athenians* usually made their first Campaign, he would be but 81 Years old on the first Year of the 105th *Olympiad*, and consequently
might

might write of the *Holy War*; which broke out four Years afterwards. Nor does *Lucian* precisely limit his Age to 90 Years only, but says he lived above 90 Years.

Xenophon in this Discourse says, that the *Athenians* had been engag'd in a War by Sea and Land; that the War by Sea was at an end, but the War by Land still continu'd. This exactly agrees with the *Bellum Sociale*, or the War of the *Athenians* against their revolted Islands, which was carryed on by Sea, and begun in the third Year of the 105th *Olympiad*, and ended in the second Year of the 106th *Olympiad*, two Years after the breaking out of the *Holy War*, which the *Athenians* were then engaged in.

By this Account *Xenophon* writ this Discourse about the third Year of the 106th *Olympiad*, a Year after the Conclusion of the Peace with the Islands.

If the Account of *Xenophon's* Death in *Laertius* be true, I cannot believe this Work to be genuine; for I believe it almost impossible to explain this Passage in any other sense. But the Authority of all the Writers who ascribe this Discourse to *Xenophon*, and the Conformity of the Style with the rest of his Works,

A Discourse upon improving

Works, and that Character of Piety which runs thro' the whole Piece, which is so peculiar to the Works of *Xenophon*, and that particular Maxime at the Conclusion of this Treatise, of *undertaking every thing under the Favour and Protection of the Gods*, which he inculcates in all his Works, and particularly at the end of his *Memorabilia*, are undeniable Proofs that this Discourse is Genuine.

The End of the Notes.

BOOKS sold by *James Knapton*,
at the *Crown* in *St. Paul's Church-
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